

## Message Text

SECRET

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66-61

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 NSC-10 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 INRE-00 PRS-01 PM-03 DODE-00

L-02 MBFR-02 SAJ-01 ACDA-10 EB-03 RSR-01 /069 W

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O P 221900 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1237

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T PARIS 17286

LIMDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR

SUBJECT: SHIFT IN FRENCH DEFENSE POLICY

REF: PARIS 17069

1. SUMMARY FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT' S ACTING DIRECTEUR DU CABINET AND FORMER DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR TO DEFENSE MINISTER DEBRE TOLD EMBOFF JUNE 22 THAT JOBERT' S JUNE 19 FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH TO THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT DOES IN FACT REPRESENT A " SLIGHT SHIFT" IN FRENCH DEFENSE POLICY AWAY FROM FAVORING THE STATUS QUO AND TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE FORCE ( PARA 7 A REFTEL). END SUMMARY.

2. HE SAID FRANCE HAS " DECIDED TO POSE THE QUESTION" OF DEVELOPING SUCH A FORCE AS A RESULT OF GROWING US- SOVIET DETENTE STEMMING FROM SALT AND MBFR AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF DR. KISSINGER' S YEAR OF EUROPE SPEECH RE FUTURE US- EUROPEAN TIE.

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3. FRENCH BELIEVE, HE CONTINUED, THAT MBFR WILL WEAKEN WESTERN POLITICAL RESOLVE AND MILITARY STRENGTH. THEY HAVE "FULL CONFIDENCE" THAT THE PRESENT US ADMINISTRATION WILL SUCCEED IN MAINTAINING THE US COMMITMENT TO EUROPE INCLUDING THE PRESENT OF SIGNIFICANT FORCES. HOWEVER, THEY ARE NOT CONFIDENT THAT THE NEXT US ADMINISTRATION WILL HAVE A SIMILAR RESOLVE. THEY INTERPRET "YEAR OF EUROPE" AS IN PART EFFORT LAY FOUNDATION UPON WHICH FUTURE US LEADERSHIP COULD RETAIN COMMITMENT, BUT ALSO IN PART IMPLICITLY RAISING QUESTION OF COMMITMENT. THUS, AS JOBERT PUT IT, "EACH DAY SEES A GREATER NEED FOR EUROPE TO HAVE ITS OWN DEFENSE CAPABILITIES."

4. MOREOVER, QUAI OFFICIAL SAID, SPEECH ALSO MARKS A SHIFT TOWARDS GREATER FRENCH INTEREST IN DEVELOPMENT OF ANGLO-FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE. WHILE SPEECH NOWHERE MENTIONS THIS DEVELOPMENT, JOBERT'S COMMENT THAT "THE GREATER NEED FOR EUROPE TO HAVE ITS OWN DEFENSE GIVES FRANCE'S NUCLEAR FORCE A GREATER CREDIBILITY GIVEN THE EVOLUTION OF WORLD STRATEGY," CAN BE TAKEN AS DELIBERATELY VAGUE INDICATION OF FRANCE'S INTEREST IN EVENTUAL NUCLEAR DEFENSE COOPERATION WITH UK. FRENCH ARE NOT, HOWEVER, HE ADDED, PROPOSING THAT FRANCE ASSUME ROLE OF PROVIDING NUCLEAR UMBRELLA FOR EUROPE. JOBERT IMPLICITLY (AND SOMEWHAT CONTRADICTORILY) ACCEPTED CONTINUED RELIANCE ON US IN THIS CONNECTION.

5. THE SPEECH CONTAINS NO FRENCH PRESCRIPTIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE FORCE BECAUSE, QUAI OFFICIAL SAID, THE FRENCH DO NOT BELIEVE THE TIME IS YET RIPE FOR SUCH A MOVE.

6. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE IMPLIED, FRANCE REMAINS OPPOSED TO INTEGRATED US- EUROPEAN DEFENSE, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING HER EUROPEAN PARTNERS REMAIN COMMITTED TO NATO, FRENCH, HE SAID, ARE THUS "ONLY POSING THE QUESTION OF THE NEED TO BEGIN DEVELOPING A EUROPEAN DEFENSE FORCE."

7. COMMENT: ONE POSSIBLE CONJECTURE FROM ABOVE IS THAT FRENCH ARE DRAWING CONCLUSION THAT A COMBINATION OF US- SOVIET COOPERATION "COLLUSION" WHICH THREATEN'S EUROPE'S INDEPENDENCE AND UNCERTAINTY RE FUTURE OF US COMMITMENT TO EUROPE ARE NOW SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR (IN FRENCH MINDS) TO REQUIRE FRANCE

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TO BEGIN RECONSIDERING ITS BASIC SECURITY POLICY.

8. AS NOTED COMMENT SECTION REFTTEL, WHETHER FRANCE CAN INDEED BRIDGE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN ITS DESIRE FOR STRONGER EUROPE AND ITS UNWILLINGNESS PROVIDE THAT EUROPE WITH SUFFICIENT SOVEREIGNTY REMAINS A KEY QUESTION. THE RESULTS OF FRANCE'S LAST EFFORT TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL IN THE DEFENSE

AREA IN WHICH FRENCH FIRST PROPOSED AND THEN VETOED THE  
CREATION OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY ARE HARDLY ENCOURAGING.  
AND THAT EFFORT TOOK PLACE AT A TIME WHEN THERE WAS NO OFFICIAL  
DISAGREEMENT ON NATO " INTEGRATION."

9. AS SEEN FROM HERE - AND AT THIS STAGE WE CAN ONLY  
SPECULATE REPEAT SPECULATE - WHAT FRENCH MIGHT BE GROPING  
TOWARDS IS A CLOSELY KNIT BUT NOT NECESSARILY INTEGRATED  
EUROPEAN DEFENSE ASSOCIATION COOPERATING WITH THE US UNDER  
THE ALLIANCE. BUT ANOTHER WAY, THE US ( AND CANADA) WOULD BE  
PLACED IN THE SAME SORT OF POSITION VIS- A- VIS A NEW  
EUROPEAN DEFENSE STRUCTURE AS FRANCE CURRENTLY IS VIS- A-  
VIS NATO. FRENCH VIEW OF ROLE OF US NUCLEAR UMBRELLA IN THIS  
FORMULATION REMAINS EVEN LESS CLEAR TO US, HOWEVER, BASED ON  
VAGUENESS AND INCONSISTENCIES OF QUAI OFFICIAL AND JOBERT' S  
COMMENTS ON THIS POINT.

10. FINALLY, SHIFT IN FRENCH POLICY IS CONSISTENT WITH CHARGES  
( IMPLICITLY REPEATED BY JOBERT ON JUNE 20), THAT US IS USING  
TROOP ISSUE TO OBTAIN LEVERAGE IN OTHER NEGOTIATIONS. FRENCH MAY  
BE SEEKING BY THEIR " POSING THE DEFENSE QUESTION" TO PERSUADE  
OTHER EC MEMBERS TO LOOK " REALISTICALLY" AT US COMMITMENT AND  
DISCUSS AMONG THEMSELVES WHETHER VIABLE ALTERNATIVE EXISTS TO  
CONTINUED ALLIANCE ON US IN PRESENT FRAMEWORK AND DEGREE AND  
IF SO WHAT AND HOW. PERHAPS ALSO TO HELP PERSUADE REST OF EC  
THAT A TOUGH STAND IN TRADE AND MONETARY AREAS IS FEASIBLE.  
IRWIN

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